

## Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ABU DH 02738 030441Z  
ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 PM-05 DODE-00 ACDA-07 SS-15 OMB-01  
IGA-02 TRSE-00 INR-07 MCE-00 EB-08 AID-05 H-01  
/062 W

-----015827 030453Z /20

R 020925Z OCT 77  
FM AMEMBASSY ABU DHABI  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6686  
INFO AMEMBASSY DOHA  
AMEMBASSY JIDDA  
AMEMBASSY KUWAIT  
AMEMBASSY MANAMA  
AMEMBASSY MUSCAT  
AMEMBASSY SANA  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN  
AMCONSUL DHAHRAN  
SECDEF WASHDC

S E C R E T ABU DHABI 2738

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: MASS, BA, SA, TC  
SUBJECT: BAHRAIN ARMS REQUEST RAISES IMPLICATIONS FOR UAE

REF: (A) MANAMA 2112, (B) ABU DHABI 2644

1. IN RESPONDING TO SHAIKH HAMAD'S REQUEST FOR SALE OF HAWKS AND OTHER WEAPONS SYSTEMS TO BDF, WE ASSUME THAT DEPARTMENT AND DOD WILL BE GUIDED FIRST AND FOREMOST BY ASSESSMENT OF DEGREE OF ACTUAL THREAT TO BAHRAIN AND ADJOINING AREAS AS WELL AS SUITABILITY OF WEAPONS PROPOSED BY BDF IN MEETING THAT THREAT. HOWEVER, REGIONAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS ALSO ENTER INTO CALCULATION AND NEED THEREFORE TO BE LOOKED AT AS WELL.

2. AS AMBASSADOR CLUVERIUS CORRECTLY POINTED OUT TO SHAIKH HAMAD, USG HAS DECLINED UAE REQUEST FOR TOW. REACTION OF UAE

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FONMIN SUWAIDI TO THIS DECISION WAS ONE OF UNHAPPINESS BASED LESS UPON UNAVAILABILITY OF THIS PARTICULAR WEAPON SYSTEM TO ULE AS UPON WHAT HE FELT TO BE DISCRIMINATION BY USG IN AUTHORIZING SALE OF TOW TO SOME GULF STATES AND NOT TO OTHERS. WE CAN ASSUME THEREFORE THAT UAE OFFICIALS WILL BE WATCHING WITH INTEREST TO SEE WHAT ARMS SALES US MAY SUBSEQUENTLY CONCLUDE WITH OTHER LOWER GULF STATES WHOSE

EXPOSURE TO EXTERNAL THREATS AND DEGREE OF RESPONSIBILITY  
FOR REGIONAL SECURITY ARE COMPARABLE TO THAT OF UAE.

3. AS DEPARTMENT IS AWARE, WE ACTED SEVERAL YEARS AGO TO DISCOURAGE UAE INTEREST IN ACQUISITION OF HAWKS AND VULCANS ON BASIS OF GUIDELINES WE SET FOR OUR LOWER GULF ARMS POLICY. WERE WE TO AGREE NOW TO SALE OF IMPROVED HAWK SYSTEM TO BAHRAIN, THIS TRANSACTION MIGHT STIMULATE RENEWED UAE INTEREST IN HAWK OR OTHER US AIR DEFENSE EQUIPMENT. AT VERY LEAST, WE COULD EXPECT UAE TO ASK QUESTIONS ABOUT BASIS FOR TRANSACTION. NOW THAT WE HAVE TURNED ASIDE UAE REQUEST FOR SMALL NUMBER OF TOWS ON GROUNDS THAT NO EXTERNAL TANK THREAT IS APPARENT, IT WILL BE MORE DIFFICULT TO ARGUE AGAINST POSSIBLE UAE REQUEST FOR HAWK IF WE HAVE IN MEANTIME INDICATED OUR READINESS TO SELL THAT SYSTEM TO BAHRAIN IN CONTEXT OF REGIONAL DEFENSE OF GULF OIL FIELDS.

4. OUR COMMENTS ABOVE ARE NOT INTENDED TO OPPOSE POSSIBLE FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION BY USG OF BAHRAIN'S REQUEST FOR HAWK OR EVEN TO SUGGEST THAT SALE TO BAHRAIN WOULD NECESSARILY TRIGGER SIMILAR SALES REQUEST FROM UAE. WE DO WISH TO POINT OUT, HOWEVER, THAT CREDIBILITY OF OUR EXPRESSED INTERESTS IN WORKING CLOSELY WITH UAE IN VARIETY OF AREAS, INCLUDING DEFENSE, COULD WELL BE CALLED INTO QUESTION WERE EMIRATES OFFICIALS TO PERCEIVE USG NOT PURSUING A CONSISTENT ARMS SALES POLICY IN LOWER GULF.

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## Message Attributes

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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
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